

The Director of Central Intelligence

Washington, D.C. 20505

CHRONO

OLL 84-4080

25 October 1984

The Honorable Edward P. Boland, Chairman
Permanent Select Committee on Intelligence
U. S. House of Representatives
Washington, D. C. 20515

Dear Ed,

I'd like you to look through the much publicized text of the FDN manual on psychological operations together with the code of conduct prepared in pocket size for every FDN soldier to carry with him at all times. You will see that the thrust and purpose of this material is, as Senator Wallop has said publicly, on the whole quite different from the impression that has been created in the media. The ultimate distortion appeared in this morning's NEW YORK TIMES editorial which speaks of the Agency "having to be stopped from illegal minings and murders." This distortion of reality must be corrected.

Let me describe these documents and their contents to help you work your way through them. They were prepared in the political section of the FDN with the help of an advisor provided by the CIA. The code of conduct explains that the objective of the FDN is the development of a democratic and pluralistic government in Nicaragua. It describes the need to achieve a reconciliation of the Nicaraguan family, to establish social justice and human rights in Nicaragua, to restore the freedoms violated by the Sandinistas, and to achieve economic reform and greater social mobility. The manual, entitled Psychological Operations in Guerrilla Warfare, was prepared by and addressed to people who had made the fateful decision to engage in armed combat in order to resist oppression by a totalitarian regime. Its purpose is stated as assuring that every combatant will be "highly motivated to engage in propaganda face to face, to the same degree that he is motivated to fight." It aims to make every FDN guerrilla "persuasive in face to face communication--a propagandist combatant--in his contact with the people; he must be capable of giving 5 or 10 logical reasons why, for example, a peasant must give him fabric, needle and thread to mend his clothes. When the guerrilla behaves this way, enemy propaganda will never turn him into an enemy in the eyes of the population." It goes on to deal with developing political awareness, using group dynamics, interaction with the people "live, eat and work with the people," respect for human rights, teaching and civic action.

There is a section headed "guerrilla arms are the strength of the people against an illegal government." This deals with protecting the guerrillas and citizens when a town is occupied. There is also a section on the training and operations of armed propaganda teams, made up of six to ten members charged with raising political consciousness within Nicaragua and personal persuasion within the population. Again, the emphasis is on education, avoiding combat if possible, "not turning the town into a battlefield." That context puts into perspective the four passages with which the whole document and the FDN psychological operations have been characterized. Two of these four passages were deleted by the FDN.

Of the other two, one advises on how to explain to the population if a guerrilla, having "tried to stop the informant without shooting," should shoot that individual. The other uses the word "neutralize" in dealing with the problem of removing local officials on occupying a town.

It is important to note that these two passages are in the context of entering or occupying a community and dealing with a situation in which actual or potential resistance remains. They are preceded by admonitions that the "enemies of the people, the Sandinista officials or agencies, must not be mistreated in spite of the criminal actions even though the guerrilla forces may have suffered casualties" and also that "whenever it is necessary to use armed force during an occupation or a visit to a town or a village," the guerrillas are to "explain to the population that first of all this is being done to protect them, the people not the guerrillas themselves" and that "this action while not desirable is necessary because the final objective of the insurrection is a free and democratic society where acts of force are not necessary."

Sincerely,


William J. Casey

Enclosures

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The Honorable Barry M. Goldwater
United States Senate
6250 North Hoggan Drive
Scottsdale, Arizona 85253

The Honorable John H. Chafee
United States Senate
Hyatt Regency Hotel
300 Light Street
Baltimore, MD 21202

The Honorable Joseph R. Biden
United States Senate
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Federal Building
844 King Street
Wilmington, Delaware 19801

The Honorable David F. Durenberger
United States Senate
375 Russell Senate Office Building
Washington, D.C. 20510

The Honorable Howard H. Baker, Jr.
United States Senate
3224 Woodland Drive
Washington, D.C. 20008

he'll be at home Friday night (ETA 5:30 p.m.)

The Honorable Robert C. Byrd
United States Senate
311 Hart Senate Office Building
Washington, D.C. 20510

The Honorable Malcolm Wallop
United States Senate
206 Russell Senate Office Building
Washington, D.C. 20510

Friday - will be in office for interview
at 9:00 a.m.

The Honorable Daniel K. Inouye
United States Senate
722 Hart Senate Office Building
Washington, D.C. 20510

Out of town. Office will get to him
as soon as possible.

The Honorable Walter D. Huddleston
United States Senate
Attention: John Wallace
220 West Dixie Avenue
Elizabethtown, Kentucky 42701

The Honorable Richard G. Lugar
United States Senate
7841 Old Dominion Drive
McLean, Virginia 22102

After 5:30 p.m. Friday (home)

(Thursday-in office till 6:30 pm;
306 Hart Senate Office Building)

The Honorable Jake Garn
United States Senate
505 Dirksen Senate Office Building
Washington, D.C. 20510

Deliver to his office by 5:00 p.m. Thursday

The Honorable Lloyd Bentsen
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The Honorable William V. Roth, Jr.
United States Senate
3021 Federal Building
844 King Street
Wilmington, Delaware 19801

The Honorable Sam Nunn
United States Senate
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Bethesda, MD

home address. (6:00 p.m. Thursday he's flying
out of town)

The Honorable William S. Cohen
United States Senate
340 Eastern Promenade
Apartment 158
Portland, Maine 04101

The Senator will be there late Friday afternoon

The Honorable Patrick J. Leahy
United States Senate
135 Church Street
Burlington, Vermont 05401

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Room 309
1550 Main Street
Springfield, Massachusetts 01103

The Honorable Louis Stokes
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819 Taylor Street
Fort Worth, Texas 76102

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Room 107
100 Northeast Monroe
Peoria, Illinois 61602

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U. S. House of Representatives
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